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PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

By

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M.A., D.Litt.

Professor and Head of the
Department of Jainology and prākrits,
University of Mysore,
Manasa Gangotri, Mysore-6.

Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Lectures

University of Poona,

Poona-7.

1975

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Foreword

It is regretted that this publication has been unduly delayed, but this gives me the privilege of writing these few lines by way of a foreword.

The Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Lectureship was instituted by the University in 1956. Under this scheme, lectures are to be organized once in every three years, Sir Ralph TURNER (November 1958), Dr. S. M. KATRE (August, 1965), and Dr. P. B. PANDIT (December, 1968) have so far delivered lectures in this series. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE delivered the Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Lectures in September, 1971.

Dr. UPADHYE is an eminent scholar of international repute in the field of Jainology and Prakrit Studies. The University of Poona was, indeed, fortunate in having him to deliver these lectures. Little need be said about the lectures, for, Dr. UPADHYE's name is a sufficient guarantee for their excellence and usefulness.

On behalf of the University, I thank Dr. UPADHYE for having delivered the lectures as also for his co-operation in bringing out the present publication.

University of Poona,
Ganeshkhind, Poona 411 007.
May 14, 1975.
Akshaya Tritiya.

D. A. DABHOLKAR
VICE-CHANCELLOR.

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Preface

The authorities of the University of Poona kindly invited me to deliver 'Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Lectures' for 1970–71. Accordingly these lectures were delivered by me, under the auspices of the University of Poona, in September 15, 16, 17 and 18 of 1971.

The topics of the Four Lectures are as follows :—

1) Prākrit Languages : A Study;
2) Latest Studies in Prākrit Literature;
3) Apabhraṁśa Studies and their Future; and
4) Prākrit Literature and our Cultural Heritage.

Dr. B. P. APTE, Vice-Chancellor; Dr. A. M. GHATAGE, Professor of Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona; Professor M. V. PATAWARDHAN, Retired Professor of Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona; and Professor Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, Director, Centre of Advanced Studies in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Poona, presided over these lectures on the four days respectively. The lecturer has thankfully availed himself of the observations made by them in their presidential remarks.

I was much benefited by the advice of Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR in the planning of these lectures. DR. A. M. GHATAGE read through the typescript and made valuable suggestions. Both of them have been my good friends and colleagues for over a quarter of a century. I offer my sincere thanks to them.

It is very kind of Professor D. A. DABHOLKAR, Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona, to have found time to peruse these pages and to add a Foreword to these Lectures founded in the memory of his former colleague in the Fergusson College, Poona. I feel so grateful to him.

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My sincere thanks are due to the authorities of the University of Poona for inviting me to deliver the Gune Memorial Lectures. It is indeed an honour extended to me. Shri R. S. SARDESHPANDE, Registrar, is to be thankfully remembered for all his help to me during my stay in Poona. Due to other preoccupations, the Index, etc., took more time than anticipated.

Manasa Gangotri,
Mysore–6.
Śrautapañcamī,
June 14, 1975.

A. N. UPADHYE.

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

1. I sincerely thank the authorities of the University of Poona for kindly inviting me to deliver the Dr. P. D. GUNE Memorial Lectures, this year.

The late lamented Dr. P.D. GUNE was a Professor of Sanskrit in the Fergusson College, Poona; but, when one looks at his academic efforts and achievements, within a short span of his career, it is obvious that he was much more than a professional Teacher lecturing to his classes on a Sanskrit Kāvya or a Drama in an interesting and entertaining manner. His contributions, though not extensive, carry on them a stamp of scholarly rigour and dedication to the study of Language as a whole, more as a Philologist than as a Linguist, as the terms are lately understood. His *Introduction to Comparative Philology* supplied the need of a book " which combined principles of the Science of Language with practical illustrations from the Indian branch of the Indo-Germanic [or Indo-Aryan] family ". There were predecessors in the field who had fairly covered some of the topics. So far as the treatment of Prākrits and some of the modern Indo-Aryan languages is concerned, he had a distinguished predecessor in Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR. More or less about the same time, some of the modern Indian languages had been dealt with by BEAMES, HOERNLE and others.

2. The late Dr. GUNE had a leading rôle in laying the foundation of Prākrit (Ardha-māgadhī) courses in the University of Bombay. He brought the idea from Germany that studies in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pāli have to go hand-in-hand for an all-sided assessment of ancient Indian heritage. Linguistically the studies of Prākrits are more fruitful in view of their closer affinity with Modern Indo-Aryan languages and their evolution. Following the lead of H. JACOBI, he edited the *Bhavisattakahā* (left rather incomplete due to his premature death) and thus gave a fresh impetus to the study of Apabhraṁśa. What Dr. GUNE began has been greatly achieved and worthily advanced by his successor in the Willingdon College,

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Sangli, Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, in the study of Prākrits, especially Apabhraṁśa. He has been a veritable *pathi-kṛt* in editing Apabhraṁśa works.

I am just an humble worker in the field of studies in which the late Dr. GUNE made a significant beginning in this part of the country. Naturally, I look upon it as a privilege to have been called upon to deliver these Dr. GUNE Memorial Lectures. The theme of lectures covers Prākrit languages and literature, their studies and their place in our heritage.

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I. Prākrit Language : A Study

3. In submitting my observations on Prākrits, my approach is more of a Philologist than of a Linguist. Prākrits are being viewed here as a vehicle of vast literature in which are embedded the cultural facets of ages together, in India. Comparative Grammar within a family of dialects and languages, or in their cognate orbits, has its value; but that aspect would be touched upon by me casually and incidentally.

Any one who wants to understand Prākrits with a view to studying Prākrit literature has to depend on Prākrit grammars. They are practical instruments in this direction with a double purpose. While illustrating the correspondence between Sanskrit and Prākrits, they lay down certain rules, which first, enable us to understand these literarised Prākrits, i. e., Prākrits as used in certain layers of our early literature, and secondly, help one to write in these Prākrits in obedience to certain conventions, already well-established. Being conversant with or already accustomed to a standard literary language like Sanskrit, these Grammarians implicitly evolve a standardised, i. e., grammatically uniform, speech both in phonology and morphology. If any exceptions are there, they are also generalised by special rules.

4. Bharata's observations on the Prākrit, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, are valuable for more than one reason; but they cannot get the designation of a Prākrit grammar. Treating the claim of the *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa* of Caṇḍa as the earlier complete grammar of Prākrits available today as *sub judice*, we can start with the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* of Vararuci. Its date is not definite, but it is the oldest Prākrit grammar available to us. It stands as the basic source for most of the subsequent Prākrit grammars. It has been customary to group these grammars into Eastern and Western; but Vararuci is basic and central for both these schools. Vararuci treats Prākrit in eight Chapters, sometimes counted as nine by splitting one of the chapters into two; and thus it is really an Aṣṭādhyāyī for the

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Prākrit. The list of the Prākrit grammarians (and their grammars) is pretty big; but only some of them have a significance in our study. They can be grouped thus :

1) Vararuci and his commentators;
2) Hemacandra–Trivikrama and their successors;
3) Puruṣottama–Mārkaṇḍeya and successors.

A consolidated study of these grammars gives a fair idea of what these grammarians understood by Prākrits. In this direction, PISCHEL'S Comparative Grammer of Prākrits is an achievement far ahead of his times. Today, with most of the grammars and new texts available, it is possible to check up PISCHEL'S details here and there, and make some additions to his sections. But his frame work still stands the test of time.

The treatment of the Prākrit grammarians, all of them writing in Sanskrit, has created a belief (about the origin of Prākrits) which still lingers with some writers, though it is exploded long back. It is obvious that Sanskrit and Prākrits have thrived in our country as parallel currents of expression in the society; the one standardised in the rigour of grammatical frame-work, but the others, as handled by grammarians, equally literarised but going back to the speech of common people who spoke it naturally without having studied any grammar as such. Such a phenomenon is natural even today. Marāṭhī or Kannaḍa written by an educated person differs a good deal from that of illiterate masses, who cannot read and write. Now and then, attempts are made to literarise these dialects; and that is how Prākrits too have come to be standardised in our country. Inscriptional Prākrits show us a good deal of variety and disparity from region to region. They are nearer to the spoken Prākrits than those discussed by grammarians who are dealing with patternised speeches.

The Prākrit grammars are not concerned with the origin of Prākrits; and, if they say that Sanskrit is the *prakṛti*, they only mean that it is the basis of comparision or correspondence for the practical purposes of understanding Prākrits or writing in Prākrits. If the major part of the Prākrit vocabulary has been Sanskritic, it was but natural and inevitable, because literarized

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Prākrits have always run parallel with Sanskrit idiom. The roots of Prākrits go back to the spoken idioms of which we have no full records, but just the glimpses of them are seen here and there in the literary strata.

5. Though Prākrit grammars do not specify the sources from which they drew their material, we are in a position to say that their purview was comparatively limited. They drew on floating popular songs and maxims which were available in dialects more akin to the spoken idioms of the masses, and of which we have literary specimens in Hāla's *Sattasaī*; these have already intruded the Alaṅkāra literature and could not be avoided in the study of Sanskrit. It is such songs, etc., that Vararuci had primarily in view in composing his Aṣṭādhyāyī, and investigation has shown that many of his illustrative words are found in the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla. We are not definite about the age and locality of Vararuci; apart from his influence on subsequent Prākrit grammars, it is the study of his grammar that has led to the composition of poems and plays in different parts of India, including even the extreme South, as late as the 18th century A. D. Even today we have some authors here and there who compose their works in Prākrit after studying the grammar and reading some Prākrit models. For instance, Śrīmad Vijayakastūra-Sūrīśvaraji has written in Prākrit his *Siricaṃdarāya-cariyaṃ*; and it is published from Cambay only a few months back.

We can, however, envisage the circumstances that gradually led to the expansion and supplementation of these standard Prākrit grammars. The ornate poetry in Sanskrit was the luxury of a few, but the drama, equally *rasātmakam*, had to cater for a wider circle, when it was enacted on the stage. There is not the least doubt that the Prākrit passages which find a place in Sanskrit plays, right from the time we know them, are literarised forms of some dialects which have references to speeches in different social strata or regional backgrounds. Bharata recognises the popular appeal of the play, whether it is enacted under royal patronage or at a religious function. There must have been popular plays composed in Prākrit dialects something like the forerunners of Melās, Yātrās or Yakṣagānas. Bharata had no apparatus to reproduce the local speeches as they were exactly spoken; so what he did was that he

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gave phonological rules to guide the play-wrights to write in Prākrit (XVII. 7–25).

6. The use of Prākṛits according to social status, sex or region of the characters has its roots in the actual conditions in the society. Kālidāsa, in his *Kumārasaṃbhava* VII.90, makes even Sarasvatī observe such a distinction : she addresses Śiva in Sanskrit but Pārvatī in an easily understandable expression, i.e., in Prākrit, as the commentator clarifies it. The highly standardised language was Sanskrit and all others were Prākrits. It is significant that Kannaḍa also is called Prākrit even though linguistically it does not belong to the Indo-Aryan family. In this connection an interesting note by Dr. G. S. Gai deserves special attention. The Prākṛtabhāṣā in the Badami Inscription of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, A. D. 699, means Kannaḍa language of the region or of the times, the language of the people as distinguished from the Saṁskṛta-bhāṣā in which the first few lines are written followed by a few lines in Prākṛta-bhāṣā which are in Old-Kannaḍa (*Annals* of the BORI, 31, 1950, p. 273).

When dramatic theorists laid down that certain characters should speak Sanskrit and others, Prākrits, the playwrights followed these rules mechanically. That is why the dramatic Prākrits are artificial, having more correspondence with Sanskrit idiom. It appears that it is only to understand these dialects that the grammar of Vararuci was expanded with the addition of some chapters dealing with X Paiśācī, XI Māgadhī, XII Śaurasenī. It is only at the end of the 12th chapter that the term of Māhārāṣṭrī occurs. The *prakṛti* of Paiśācī and Māgadhī is Śaurasenī which is really described after them and the *prakṛti* of which is given as Saṃskṛta. All that indicates that these additional chapters have not got sufficient consistency or have been appended later to understand some of these dialects used in the plays.

7. As Prākrits are being discussed here, more from the philological than from the linguistic points of view, and as our approach is through Prākrit grammars to literature, Apabhraṁśa is being included in our review but not Pāli, which needs special treatment for a number of reasons :

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i) Prākrit grammarians have considered Apabhraṁśa, but none of them takes Pāli into account.

ii) Pāli, like Ardha-māgadhī, is based on Māgadhī, the then speech of Magadha; but its cultivation and preservation have taken place more outside India.

iii) The Sanskrit grammar is influencing Pāli more and more unlike other Prākrit dialects, apart from the fact, that the bulk of Pāli vocabulary is mainly Sanskritic.

iv) The standard Prākrit, whether one calls it Māhārāṣṭrī or Śauraseni, is supplying a substantial basis for the literary Apabhraṁśa, but Pāli has remained outside the canvas.

v) Through Apabhraṁśa, the Prākrit is gradually linking itself with Modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is this that led some scholars to postulate an Apabhraṁśa for every Prākrit dialect and then classify the New or Modern Indo-Aryan languages accordingly. But Pāli stands outside this classification.

vi) More the Prākrit language drifts linguistically and culturally away from Sanskrit, the higher is the percentage of the use Deśī words or roots in it. Pāli uses comparatively few Deśī words, but their number increases in Apabhraṁśa.

These are some of the reason why Pāli is not covered here. But, for a student of Linguistics, under a linguistic group like the Middle Indo-Aryan, Pāli has to be studied along with other Prākrits including Apabhraṁśa.

8. Putting together what grammarians, poeticians and commentators have said from time to time, one comes across a large number of names of Prākrit dialects. As I understand, the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Vararuci and the characteristics of Prākrits (*prākṛtalakṣaṇa*) given by Bharata and as some modern scholars analyse his *dhruvas*, what is taught or used is Prākrit without any distinctions made later on. The supplementary chapters of Vararuci's Aṣṭādhyāyī, give us the names of other Prākrits; Paiśācī, Māgadhī, Śauraseni and Māhārāṣṭrī (= Prākrit). Hemacandra has

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Prākrit (= Māhārāṣṭrī), Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiśācī (with Cūlikā Paiśācī) and Apabhraṁśa. His illustrations for Prākrit are drawn from works like the *Gāhākoso* of Hāla, *Setubandha*, *Gaüḍavaho* and *Līlāvaī*, etc.; for Śauraseni and Māgadhī from the well-known dramas including the *Udāttarāghava*; for Paiśācī, his sources are not known; and for Apabhraṁśa, he has rich literature before him, having Dohās and epic contexts (not necessarily Jaina), etc. His Apabhraṁśa has dialects, but he does not specify their names. In addition, he mentions Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī and gives some illustrations from the Ardhamāgadhī canon, Ārṣa being another name of Ardhamāgadhī for Hemacandra, his direct or indirect followers have taken no note of it, because the Ardhamāgadhī canon possibly never came into their notice.

9. Mārkaṇḍeya's grammar, more than that of his predecessor Puruṣottama, is helpful in respect of dialects, because it has an illustrative commentary, quite exhaustive for all practical purposes. Mārkaṇḍeya divides Prākrits into four classes :

1) Bhāṣā,
2) Vibhāṣā,
3) Apabhraṁśa, and
4) Paiśācī.

His Bhāṣā includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śauraseni, Prācyā, Āvantī and Māgadhī (including Ardha-māgadhī, Dākṣiṇātyā and Bāhlikī).

His Vibhāṣā covers Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī. Śābarī, Ābhīrī and Ṭākkī (but not Oḍrī and Drāviḍī). His Apabhraṁśa is mainly of three kinds :

1) Nāgara,
2) Upanāgara, and
3) Vrācaḍa, which together include all the 27 known to him.

He reduces the 11 Paiśācī dialects to three Nāgara (cultured or urban) varieties : Kekaya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla. Mārkaṇḍeya refers to Śākalya, Kohala, Bhojadeva, etc. He quotes from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Some of the works cited by him are not available today. He has drawn maximum from the grammar of Vara-

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ruci and his commentator Vasanta-rāja. He draws his Prākrit quotations from the *Kappūramaṃjarai*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and other well-known plays. He quotes in plenty from the *Setubandha*. Some of the citations attributed to Vākpati are not traced in the *Gaüḍavaho*. Anyway, he is well read in earlier material by which he has enriched his treatise.

10. Bharata, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVII (in some editions XVIII), speaks of Deśī and Vibhraṣṭa (= Tadbhava) words. He gives the list of characters who (and occasions on which they are to) speak Prākrit ; and he is aware of the languages of Barbaras, Kirātas, Āndhras and Drāviḍas. He specifies 7 Bhāṣās : Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlīka, Dākṣiṇātya ; and his Vibhāṣās are the speeches of the Śakāra, Ābhīras, Cāṇḍālas, Śabaras, Dramiḍas (a little contradiction here ?), Oḍras and the lowly speech of the foresters. He does not give their characteristics but some of the indications given by him possibly specify what we call Māgadhī, Apabhraṁśa, Śaurasenī and Paiśācī. This classification of Bhāṣā and Vibhāṣā is not noticed by Hemacandra, but it figures with Mārkaṇḍeya and others. It is obvious that it goes back to Bharata.

11. Turning to Poeticians, Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa* I.32) distinguishes four kinds of literary works, in Prākrit, Sanskrit, Apabhraṁśa and Miśra. Daṇḍin has in view the language of the Ābhīras, etc., used in Kāvyas ; but in *śāstras*, by which perhaps he means grammatical treatises, it is named Apabhraṁśa, whatever is different from Sanskrit. Rudraṭa in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (2.12) names six languages : Sanskrit, Prākrit, Māgadha-bhāṣā, Piśāca-Bhāṣā, Śaurasenī and Apabhraṁśa, which has several divisions according to different localities.

Even presuming that most of these names are used with the same sense-content (which is often doubtful), thers are differences in the grammatic and poetic traditions. Mārkaṇḍeya's Apabhraṁśa includes popular speeches (enumerated by him) of Āryan and non-Āryan origins, and as against Daṇḍin, he quotes an opinion that the language of the Ābhīras comes under Vibhāṣā. According to Rāmatarkavāgīśa, Vibhāṣās are used in the dramas, etc., so Apabhraṁśa should mean only the spoken language of

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the people. Vāgbhaṭa (*Alaṁkāratilaka*) is aware of the Grāmya-bhāṣās besides Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa.

Pṛthvīdhara, the commentator of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, mentions Ḍhakkī, along with Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī and Śābarī among the dialects of Apabhraṁśa.

Theoretical treatises are not satisfied with these varieties of Prākrits, etc. There is a work *Gītālaṁkāra*, attributed to Bharata, to which Dr. S. M. KATRE has already drawn our attention. The introductory Sanskrit verses mention the names of some 30 Prākritic or Deśī languages, though the author is out to give 42 of them. Most of the names are regional and some racial. What is more interesting is that in subsequent Prākrit verses (which are introduced with the words *atha Deśī*), some of them are illustrated mentioning the names. Both the lists are not identical though some names Kirāī, Mecchī, Gurjarī, Māravi, Kāśī, etc., are common.

12. In this context, I may draw your attention to a list of 18 Deśa Bhāṣās which Uddyotana (779 A. D.) illustrates from the bazaar talk. The traders from different parts of the country are gathered together in the market. They could be distinguished by their territorial or regional speeches (traditionally 18 in number, but here only 16 are enumerated), i. e., dialects and languages, current in different parts of the country. The author describes these categories of people physicaly and temparamentlly and gives some words or so from their speeches. The categories, as I understand them, are based on professional caste or race and regions, both from the South and North. In addition to these 16 are mentioned Khasa, Pārasa and Barbar people. These are Deśa-bhāṣās to be distinguished from literary languages like Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa in which the bards in the court of king Dṛḍhavarman have their recitation. By Prākrit Uddyotana means the standard Prakrit, Māhārāṣṭrī or Śauraseni; and he specifies other dialects viz., Apabhraṁśa, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Rākṣasī and other admixtures of these. Then there are some Apabhraṁśa passages, even in prose. Further, there are some conversations with Apabhraṁśa basis, but with a little smattering of spoken elements. The dialect may be called mid-Indian colloquial.

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13. The selective data presented above give a nice glimpse how India has been a veritable museum of languages, literary and spoken; how spoken languages get literarised in different parts and at different times; and the how spoken languages again go on in their natural currents. Sanskrit (including Vedic) has been highly standardised almost with religious sanctity: but it had contemporary parallel currents of spoken dialects right from the beginning. Mahāvīra and Buddha preached through the spoken dialects current in the Magadhan area in their times; but their sermons were gradually literarised, so also the popular songs and ballads. This process is regulary going on, and once more we have the literarised strata in Apabhraṁśa which show some external influence; and lastly, we come to the literarised stage of what we call Modern or New Indo-Aryan languages. Even today, besides literary Marāṭhī or literary Kannaḍa, etc., if we analyse the speech of uneducated masses, we find dialectal variations based on intonation, pronunciation, vocabulary and even grammatical forms. All these are regional, professional or even community-wise. It is not surprising, therefore, that our linguists are giving us for Kannada specimens of Gulbarg Kannaḍa, Nanjangudda Kannaḍa, etc., and for Marāṭhī, Kuḍāḷī, Kuṇabī of Mahad, etc.

14. Right from the beginning, there are many specimens of Prākrits which have not come under the survey of our Prākrit grammarians; some of them belong to our country and others lie outside India. Under the first category can be put the Prākrit of the inscriptions of Aśoka, Khāravela and Sātavāhanas and to the second category belong the dialects of the Niya or Kharoṣṭhi documents and of the Prākrit *Dhammapada*. The language of these is not as standardised as the Prākrits described by grammarians. In fact, grammars of inscriptional Prākrits are yet to be compiled from the documents themselves. Dr. D. C. SARCAR's notes on the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci have shown how inadequate the Prākrit grammars are for the Inscriptional Prākrits. It is for the linguist to find out whether the dialectal differences in different inscriptions have any special significance. The Asokan inscriptions clearly show Eastern and Western dialects, if not also the North-Western and South-Central. It has become customary to call the Eastern dialect by the name Māgadhī, and the South-Central by

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Ardha-Māgadhī. But the limitations of this terminology become obvious when we look at the details given by Prākrit grammarians.

The philological study has to mark out what literature is covered by the Prākrit dialects given by the grammarians. As long as this is not done, the names of dialects will remain a luxury of pedantic enumeration and classification.

15. There must have been, right from the beginning, regional distinctions in Prākrit dialects. But the subtle distinctions between Māhārāṣṭrī and Śauraseni, as shown by the grammarians, appears to be a later phase. Some of the texts which are looked upon to be in Māhārāṣṭrī specify their languages as Prākṛta; and elsewhere by Prākṛta Śauraseni is intended. Māhārāṣṛī with its liquidity arising out of its loss of consonants was favoured in Gāthās, etc. and that is how and why it became the best Prākrit. As contrasted with this, we have the Śauraseni, usually the dialect of the prose in the drama. Now we have at least one big poem in Prākrit, namely, the *Līlāvaī*, which gives the name of its dialect, Marahaṭṭha-deśi-bhāsā; and it does not contain any of the dialectal characterstics found in the Śauraseni prose passages in the drama. It is under Śauraseni that we should include dialects like Prācyā, Āvanti, etc. For Māgadhī we have a number of passages in the plays; and Śākāri and Śābari, etc., are to be put under Māgadhī. We do not find Śākāri except in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam;* may be that Śakāra's character itself gave rise to this dialect; and Śakāra was so named because of the use of *ś*, the only sibilant in his speech. Paiśāci or Cūlikā Paiśāci is illustrated only in some post-Hemacandra plays, possibly with the rules of Hemacandra's grammar in view. Lately, some Paiśāci passages have come to light in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, and the author seems to give some importance to this dialect. We are not in a position to say anything about the nature of this dialect as found in the *Vaḍḍakahā* of Guṇāḍhya. Asada, a commentator on the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* believed that the Paiśāci quotation *panamatha*, etc., given by Hemacandra is the *ādi-namskāra* of the *Bṛhatkathā*. That Ardhamāgadhī should be assigned to Kṣapaṇaka, Bhikṣu, etc., by Kohala has some meaning; but this dialect has to be distinguished from what Hemacandra calls Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī. The grammar of Ardhamāgadhī can be attempted, and some use-

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ful efforts have already been made in this direction; but one has to await a critical edition of the Ardhamāgadhī canon based on the oldest Mss. available. The Ardhamāgadhī of the canon as such has come under some western influence; yet it does disclose certain traits of the east, namely *-e* of the Nom. and *l* for *r* in some words in crucial passages. But a deeper study with some rare parallels in Pāli is needed. Even Hemacandra has not done full justice to it. It is doubtful how many subsequent grammarians had any access to the Ardhamāgadhī canon, though they used the term Ardhamāgadhī as a dialect. Modern grammarians have rightly coined two more terms, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī illustrating their traits from the literature available in them. Apabhraṁśa stands today as described by Hemacandra and others as the name of a literary language. Being primarily used in verse (Apabhraṁśa prose that we know is very little), and the language being nearer the spoken idiom, a good deal of phonetic disorder, change in vowels, dropping of terminations, suppressing of syllables and confusion in gender etc., are seen in Apabhraṁśa. For these very changes, Apabhraṁśa is interesting, because it anticipates some of the trends in Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The vocabulary is Prākritic, though terminations, etc., are showing a different quality. Now the genuineness of the Apabhraṁśa verses in the IV Act of the *Vikramorvaśīyam* is accepted. And really there is no valid reason to doubt their authorship by Kālidāsa. More and more Apabhraṁśa literature is coming to light. The later Apabhraṁśa authors present much linguistic material which is helpful to understand some of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Grammarians' classification of different Apabhraṁśas is not fully borne out by the literature so far available. Similarly, directionwise classification of Apabhraṁśa is merely a hypothesis. The language Avahaṭṭa or Avahaṭṭaya has to be studied only as a continuation of literary Apabhraṁśa of which we have rich specimens in the works of authors, Puṣpadanta to Raidhū.

16. The study of the Prākrit vocabulary is an interesting branch. The way in which the words are shaping and the intrusion of what we call Deśī words in a large measure especially in Apabhraṁśa, are topics to be dealt with independently. The latest studies of Dr. H.C. BHAYANI and of Dr. (Smt.) Ratna SRIYAN deserve special attention. The Prākrit lexicographer has to take them into acco-

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unt. There is an attempt now-a-days to have an independent Apabhraṁśa Kośa. This need is felt especially by those who are approaching Apabhraṁśa literature and its vocabulary as students of Hindi. But, in my humble opinion, the Prākrit Lexicon can legitimately accommodate all those words which have changed themselves phonetically and sementically to a greater extent in Apabhraṁśa. Lately, attempts are made more and more to connect the Prākrits directly or through Apabhraṁśa with different Modern Indo-Aryan languages. But many a time our conclusions deserve to be star-marked for one reason, namely, we are comparing literarised Prākrits with literary Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and hence cent percent correspondence can never be expected. The linguists today are surveying the Modern Indo-Aryan languages as spoken by the people in different areas. This might give us some supplementary material to bridge a few gaps here and there.

The study of Prākrit languages is thus an important chapter in our linguistic history. It demonstrates how spoken languages rise, develop and get literarised; and how, in the hands of great writers, they assume a classical form, rich in thought, elegant in style and catching in expression.

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2. Latest Studies in Prākrit Literature

17. The study of Prākrit literature is assuming more and more importance in reconstructing the history of Indian literature. Lately, many Prākrit works have been published and even critically studied, thus giving us a better picture of ancient and mediaeval literature side by side with what we already know from Sanskrit and Pāli.

The *Gāhākoso* of Hāla has been a veritable milch cow for supplying suitable citations. As Uddyotaua puts it; it is never exhausted, howsoever, robbed are its Gāthās for quotation by authors on Alaṁkāra. For them, it is as sacred as the *Bhagavadgītā* like which, as some have opined, it has become a *saptaśatī*. According to expert opinion, almost the whole of it is quoted by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. It is high time that we have a national edition of this secular *Bhagavadgītā* along with all the available commentaries : the one of Bhuvanapāla has a special significance. The very fact that the limit of seven hundred Gāthās has reached nearly one thousand indicates that there might have been many such floating collections or groups of Gāthās. Dr. V. M. KULKRNI has restored the correct text and traced the sources of many such quotations in the Alaṁkāra works. Recently there is published in the Prākrit Text Society Series a sumptuous edition of the *Vajjālaggaṃ* with a scholarly Introduction and studied translation by Professor M. V. PATWARDHAN. Vema Bhūpāla is a well-known critic interested mainly in Alaṃkāras. He selected a century of Gāthās from Hāla's Kośa and wrote an elegant commentary on them. He quotes the Sūtras of Trivikrama while explaining some of the Prākrit forms. A Devanāgarī edition of it, in a neat form, is lately brought out by me in the Sanskrit and Prākrit Series of the Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Along with it is published the *Chhappaṇṇayagāhāo*, another important Gāhākoso. There was great controversy among scholars about the meaning of the term *chhappaṇṇaya*, but that is now set at rest by this publication. It is quite likely that some such Kośas may still come light. A similar

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Kośa, *Tārāgaṇa* by name, attributed to Bappa Bhaṭṭi, is available in a single Ms. I am studying it, and would soon place the results of my study before the scholars.

18. The Prākrits in the drama have all along attracted our attention for one reason or the other. These have an artificiality about them for various reasons. Their authors were experts in Sanskrit, and perhaps thought in Sanskrit; and they were preserved in the proximity of Sanskrit passages. We miss here, in the so-called dramatic Prākrits (which are put in the mouth of *prākṛta-jana*), the genuine Prākrit style for which one must go to early canonical texts in Ardhamāgadhī, especially their older stratum, and the Prākrit stories preserved in the commentaries. Their writers had a genuine Prākrit tradition better preserved than that of classical authors like Pravarasena, Vākpati etc. The habit of reading the passages from the *chāyā* has led us into many a pitfall. Some sentences and contexts in the *Mṛchhakaṭika* have become meaningless (such as *kiṁ hagge śalāvake koṣṭake* in reply to *tumam dhaṃṇe puṃṇe tti* etc.) when read in the *chāyā*. We are giving a fantastic meaning to Radaṇiā with a back-formation in Sanskrit Radanikā, 'a teethy girl'; while she is really Ratnā (= Ratnikā) a 'jewel'. This has parallels in Mālā = Māliā, even Śrīkāntā = Śrīkāntikā. What a myth of *Amṛtāṅkaṃ Nāṭakam* we have created, when it is *amṛdaṅgaṃ nāṭakam*, so well consistent in the context and so simple in meaning. These are minor details, but they only urge us that the Prākrit passages in the plays should be read in the original and not in the *chāyā*. It is very lately realised by some of us that this *chāyā* business cannot work at all in Apabhraṁśa and has done great harm to the preservation of dramatic Prākrit passages. It is amusing that the first Ms. of the Saṭṭaka *Caṇḍalehā* which I came across contained only the *chāyā*. I was lucky I could get another Ms. containing the Prākrit Text. The Saṭṭaka branch of Rūpaka literature is no more represented only by the *Karpūramāñjarī* of that great Rājaśekhara; but there have been a few more playwrights who have followed his lead and their Saṭṭakas have their relieving features: *Caṇḍalehā* of Rudradāsa (Bombay 1945, a Second Revised ed. is also brought out lately); *Ānandasundarī* of Ghanaśyāma (Banaras 1955); and *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* of Viśveśvara (Poona 1960). Some of these are edited by me from very meagre material. The method of text-constitution, adopted by me

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I submit, is quite modest: maximum fidelity to the Mss. without ignoring the grammatical standard which the author had possibly in view.

19. Scholars were hesitant whether the use of Apabhraṁśa could be as old as Kālidāsa; and the Mss. tradition of the *Vikramorvaśīyam* was not unanimous on the presence of the Apabhraṁśa verses in the fourth act. Thanks to the labours of the late lamented Professor H. D. VELANKAR that the text of this play (the major bulk of which is in Prākrit) is well presented; and he has successfully marshalled a good deal of internal evidence to show that these songs in Apabhraṁśa are genuine and composed by the author himself. This is confirmed further by the studies of Dr. S. N. GHOSAL (Calcutta 1972). The forms, terminations etc. from the popular strata of speech, which was later on literererised as Apabhraṁśa, are intruding in Prākrit compositions as seen from the *Paüṃacariya* of Vimala, and later as seen from the *Līlāvaī* and *Kuvalayamālā*. The habit of putting some songs in a popular speech is continued in later plays. The *Rambhāmañjarī* Saṭṭaka has some songs in Marāṭhī. By the middle of the 6th century A. D., Apabhraṁśa was already a literary language; and Guhasena of Valabhī (559–69) is credited with composition in Apabhraṁśa, Sanskrit and Prākrit. This reference to Apabhraṁśa shows that by about 600 A. D., literature in Apabhraṁśa was already available. Possibly with Daṇḍin's reference in view JACOBI observes thus: "It may be remembered that Apabhraṁśa is not a popular language, but a popular language of poets evolved by adapting the literary Prākrit, Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī, to the language of a people, and originally indeed to the language of Ābhīras."

20. Though we have lost ornate Prākrit poems like the *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena, we have in excellent editions the *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavaho* of Pravarasena and *Gaüḍavaho* of Vākpati. Professor BASAK's edition of the former (Calcutta 1959) gives a new commentary. Professor K. K. HANDIQUI's English Translation of the *Setubandha*, with Notes and copious extracts from the Commentaries, is in the press; and it will enable the scholars to appreciate better the poetic qualities of this important Kāvya. Vākpati

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is unparallelled in his Utprekṣās, but his poem, being in Prākrit, has not been widely read; and, therefore, due recognition is denied to him in literary estimation. The literary form of the poem and what the author wanted it to be are still matters of controversy. Professor N. G. SURU is preparing an English translation of it, and that should mark a fresh augury for the study of Vākpati whose another work *Mahumahavijaya* is not so far discovered.

The *Taraṃgavaī* of Pādalipta is lost, but we have a digest of it (from which E. LEUMANN prepared his essay on it), quite a worthy successor of the original perhaps inheriting a good bit from its predecessor. The present text in print is awfully corrupt, and a studied text-constitution of it is a desideratum.

One valuable addition to this branch is the poem *Līlāvaī* which has its literary merits as a Kāvya. The hero is Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna in the Aśmaka country, and he marries Līlāvatī, a Siṁhala princess. Despite the complicated narrative format and threads of the plot, the poem possesses many beautiful scenes and catching contexts which remind us of the author's study of earlier classical models in Sanskrit. The text has come down to us in two recensions, and the available Sanskrit commentary is mostly a *chāyā*. According to the commentary, the name of the author is Kutūhala. It is an important piece of information that the author specifies the dialect of the poem as Marahaṭṭha-desi-bhāsā or Māhārāṣṭrī; and it fully bears out the characteristics of Māhārāṣṭrī as distinguished from those of Śaurasenī. With a full glossary already accompanying the edited text, it should be now possible to prepare a grammar of Māhārāṣṭrī on the model of R. SCHMIDT's *Elementarbuch der Śaurasenī* (Hannover 1924).

21. In the south of India, the titles like *ubhayabhāṣā-chakravarti* or *-kavi* indicate how poets tried to show their equal proficiency in languages more than one. Some of the Sanskrit poets, as late as the 17th and 18th century, carefully studided the Prākrit grammars of Vararuci (and in some cases, of Tirvikrama) and wrote quite stylistic poems in the extreme South such as the *Kaṁsavaho* and *Usāṇiruddham*. Their author Rāma Pāṇivāda came from Keral. Ghanaśyāma also is equally well-known for his mastery over Prā-

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krit, and a reference is already made earlier to his Saṭṭaka *Ānanda-sundarī*.

Important works, dealing with stories of the Jaina pattern, in what is called Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī have lately come to light such as the *Ākhyānamaṇikośa* edited by Muni Śrī PUNYAVIJAYAJI (Banaras 1962), *Kathākośa-prakaraṇa* of Jineśvara (Bombay 1949). *Dharmopadeśamālā-vivaraṇa* of Jayasiṁha (Bombay 1949), *Jambū-cariya* of Guṇapāla. These texts need detailed study about their contents, relation with similar works, specialities of language etc. The *Jambūcariya*, for instance, shows clear acquaintance with the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana. It is the comparative study of different works that gives helpful material for the future historian of Prākrit literature. Dr. Kl. BRUHN had his dissertation (Hamburg 1954) on the *Caüpanna-mahāpurisa-cariya* the text of which is now available in a good edition by A. M. BHOJAK (Banaras 1961) and is accompanied by an informative Introduction by Dr. BRUHN himself.

22. The *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, the Part II of which is lately published, is an important Prākrit Campū for reasons more than one. The date (A. D. 779) and place (Jalor, in Rajasthan) of its composition are definite. It presents the biographies of five souls, who are victims of *krodha*, *māna*, *māyā*, *lobha* and *moha*, through a number of births. Further, it incorporates many sub-stories and episodes: the entire work is a huge single piece with nothing like chapters etc. The narration of the tale, some time put in the mouth of the characters and some time in the mouth of omniscient Teachers, is highly involved, so much so that even the author himself has missed the context in one or two places. The number of characters is pretty large, and the different facets in which they are presented is still larger. The local back-ground and natural scenes are portrayed and described in plenty. Apart from the from the scenes from other worlds. Asceticism is stressed as the *sine qua non* for release from Saṁsāra and attainment of Mokṣa which is held as the chief objective of all human efforts; still the author is immensly interested in worldly affairs.

The *Kuvalayamālā* presents primarily a *dharma-kathā*; but the author has made it a *saṃkīrṇa-kathā* by introducing contexts

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and topics of *artha* and *kāma* in such a way as prove conducive to the practice of *dharma*. The Jaina back-ground of the tale is striking. Many of the outstanding traits of the Śramaṇic culture are inherited in Jainism, such as, the theory of rebirth, the doctrine of Karman which automatically operates and the moral responsibility of the individual for the consequences of his thoughts, words and acts; and all these are illustrated, in some form or the other, in this work. "The Jaina Karma doctrine is most uncompromising and undiluted : every one is responsible for and can never escape without reaping the consequences of his Karma. The soul is subjected to a sort of vibration operating through mind, speech and body, as a result of which it incurs material Karmic bondage. Thus the Jaina Teachers have evolved philosophy of conduct and pattern of behaviour uninfluenced by any reliance on any supernatural intervention or guidance." The individual is made highly self-reliant, and the Teacher catches every opportunity to put him on the right track of religion through personal example and experience and through sermons. The Karmic consequences, here and elsewhere, are duly illustrated; and in all this, the omniscient Teacher plays an important rôle. Moral instructions, ethical sermons and religious discourses are scattered all over the text, in plenty. The Jaina concepts of renunciation, miraculous effects of the Pañca-namaskāra, the *sādharmika-vātsalya* etc. are illustrated more than once.

It is aptly observed that the *Kuvalayamālā* 'has several literary, historical, geographical and linguistic references and graphically describes the manners and customs of the people'.

Uddyotana is a well-read author, and the range of his literary heritage is broad-based. He mentions a number of authors and their works in Prākrit and Sanskrit, more attention being paid to lyrical poetry, epics and *dharma-kathās*. Some of them are well-known but we do not possess today the *Supurisacariya* of Devagupta, *Harivaṁsuppatti* of Bandika-Harivarṣa, *Yaśodharacarita* of Prabhañjana and the *Sulocanā*, a *dharmakathā*. Besides direct reference to the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, he shows acquaintance with the plays of Kālidāsa and with the treatises on technical subjects like the Kāmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Bhārata or Nāṭyaśāstra. He mentions Pādalipta, Bāṇa, Vimala, Jaṭila, Harivarṣa and Hari-

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bhadra some of whom have influenced him in the pattern of the plot and stylistic features.

Uddyotana not only mentions the date and place of composition, but gives full details about his spiritual ancestors of whom, namely Harigupta, was a contemporary of Torarāya or Toramāna, a Hūṇa Chieftain (*c.* 500 A. D.), who ruled at Pavvaiyā. He further refers to his contemporary ruler Vatsarāja (whom he calls Raṇahasthī) who crushed the frowny soldiers of the enemy and who was a source of joy to the people. Some nine coins bearing the Brāhmī legend Śrī Raṇahastin have come to light. Dr. DASHARATH SHARMA has already suggested that this Raṇahastin is the same as Vatsarāja who is qualified with the adjective Raṇahastin by Uddyotana.

The geographical and socio-cultural details scattered all over the text are interesting. Tīrthayātrā is described. The author shows good acquaintance with the Madhyadeśa. Though Banaras had many good and bad openings for earning wealth, it was Dakṣiṇāpatha, with Pratiṣṭhāna as an important town therein, that was looked upon as a prosperous territory. Soppāraya had a traders' club in which foreign traders narrated their experience and adventures and were honoured there. There are some references to the extreme South especially Kāñcī. Perhaps the author had heard a good deal about the coastal town like Vijayadurg from merchants sailing along the west coast.

Besides these literary languages, Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa, the author illustrates Deśī or Deśabhāṣās which included also languages spoken in the South. Here and there we have prose passages in Apabhraṁśa. The song of the Grāmanaṭī and that put in the mouth of the Gūrjara-pathika are in Apabhraṁśa. The king, when he addresses the Aśvapati, the chief of the stables, uses some Apabhraṁśa forms. This at once indicates the layers of the society in which Apabhraṁśa was favoured more and how it affected by proximity the literary Prākrit now and then.

Then there are three contexts in the *Kuvalayamālā* where some conversational passages occur : first, the talk of the diseased and

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destitutes; secondly, prescriptions of the Grāma-mahattaras for the purification of culprits who have committed the sin of Mitra-droha; and lastly, conversation between boys belonging to a residential school. The grammatical substratum for these passages is literary Apabhraṁśa, but there are certain elements in them which give a different tone and flourish to them. The Indian society has all along a two-fold current of languages : the literary and spoken. In a way they are self-dependent; but all the while running parallel with mutual interaction. These passages are a part and parcel of a Prākrit text which contains plenty of Apabhraṁśa elements, but they positively verge on what must have been the spoken form of the speech. It may be called Middle Indo-Aryan Colloquial, or even Mid-Indian Colloquial. The orthodox authors, who are brought up in the traditional, conventional court poetry, would not like to admit such conversations, but Uddyotana has done it; and he must be complimented on his having given us such linguistic material as would not have been otherwise available.

In this connection another point deserves to be noted. Haribhadra (*c.* 750 A.D.) and Uddyotana (*c.* 779 A.D.) have teacher-pupil relation and are contemporaries, living more or less in the same region. The *Kuvalayamālā* has much in common with the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra in its structure, motivation, contexts, characters and social, religious and cultural back-ground. But there are significant differences. Haribhadra shows more of classical back-ground and training, while Uddyotana is popular in taste and aims at a wider appeal. Haribhadra's gāthās are metrically perfect, but they do not have the liquidity, smoothness and ring found in those of Uddyotana with whom they have a spontaneous outflow as it were from the mouth of a gifted reciter. The language of Haribhadra is more learned in its make-up and style, while the expression of Uddyotana has a popular character showing forms, vocabulary, expressions and stylistic features drawn from Apabhraṁśa and Deśī stock. It is here that we have to attach greater importance to the linguistic material presented by Uddyotana. As far as I have seen, Haribhadra does not show Apabhraṁśa influence : this difference is due to their scholastic equipment and outlook, and even taste and the audience which they have in view; it has nothing to do with different age and locality.

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23. Since long there is a demand for a critical edition of the entire Ardhamāgadhī canon, a list of 45 texts belonging to which has been drawn up by some scholars. This was felt all the more necessary after the Pattan Mss. became available for collation. The volumes like the *Suttāgame* are useful, but they are neither authentic (not being based on specific old Mss.) nor reliable (some passages being omitted on sectarian considerations). What the critical scholar needs is well edited texts based on authentic Mss. material. This need is now on the way of being fulfilled to a great extent by the editions of *Nandī-Anuyogadvāra* and *Paṃṇavaṇā* so ably brought out by the Muni Shri PUNYAVIJAYAJI whom we lost lately : a loss which is a tragic blow to the study of the Ardhamāgadhī canon on which he was a great authority. It is earnestly hoped that the Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, will continue the work to its completion : that would be a fitting memorial of the great Āgama Prabhākara which Muni Shri PUNYAVIJAYAJI really was.

The studies of the late Dr. W. SCHUBRING on the *Mahānisīha*, *Tandulaveyāliya*, *Isibhāsiya* etc. have a special relevance for the study of the canon. Prof. ALSDORF's studies on the *Uttarajjhāyā* and of the chapter *Itthiparinña* give us many a fresh clue for further critical study of some of these sections. Years back Dr. SCHUBRING indicated the chronological stratification of the canonical texts. A. WEBER had already suggested how extraneous matter is added later in the *Bhagavatī*. Dr. J. DELEU has pursued this point and has given us an excellent analysis of this encyclopaedic text (Brugge, België 1970). Its cultural study was completed by Dr. J. SIKDAR some years back and is published by the Vaishali Institute.

Now-a-days, the cultural or critical study of any text has a catching effect. But when one takes the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Bhagavatī* etc. as homogenious texts of mono-authorship, the results may be imposing but some of the conclusions are bound to be misleading, because these texts contain layers of different authorship and age. It is better that earlier studies are taken into account and cautious attempts are made to distinguish between the old and the new in these texts.

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The names of earlier canonical works are mentioned in Svetāmabara and Digambara traditional lists, and it is interesting that many names are common. The contents of the present-day *Praśnavyākaraṇāṅga* could not have been the same as they were in the beginning: there has been a reshuffling of the contents of the canonical material as a whole; a new classification of the Upāṅga came into existence; portions of the *Ācārāṅga* are lost, and what is appended to it as a second Śrutaskandha is positively later in age. The way in which the *Daśavaikālika*, an Aṅgabāhya text, came to be composed is narrated both by the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sources almost in similar terms. The organisation and the history of the Jaina Sangha in the South have to be studied in details. Such common points have more significance than what is usually accepted. The Nirgrantha monk in the South has preserved from the basic canonical texts what was essential for him for practical asceticism, and that too by way of memory notes. The study of the texts like the *Mūlācāra* and *Ārādhanā* reveals much that was once common. While discussing the relative ages of such works, one has to find out objective evidence: the presumption that the Ardhamāgadhī canon and its texts are exactly as they were framed at the Pāṭaliputra council is not wholly true. The present shape and classifications are those of the Valabhī council, and it is for the critical scholar to detect the earlier strata and later ramifications. The first Śrutaskandha of the *Ācārāṅga* must have been metrical like that of the *Sūyagaḍaṁ*. The metrical *Ācārāṅga* has suffered in transmission and has got prose bits added here and there. What might have taken place at the Valabhī Council is graphically put by W. SCHUBRING: 'The method was to form a unit out of parts and fragments, to supply lost portions and even works, and, in many cases, to arrange the text suitably.'

24. The problem of Pūrvas is shrouded in theories and speculations because the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the 12th Aṅga, is lost; but it need not be doubted that they constituted certain sections of the 12th Aṅga. Some portions of the *Daśavaikālik* are said to have been based on Pūrvas. Likewise *Paṇṇavaṇā* also is said to have derived its contents from the Pūrvas. This relationship in contents is accepted by authorites.

By 162 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the knowledge of the Pūrvas suffered a set-back. Bhadrabāhu was the last Śruta-

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kevalin who knew all the Pūrvas. Subsequently, as the tradition goes, the knowledge of the last four Pūrvas was lost, and hence, the designation of some monks as Daśapūrvins. It is not unlikely that some portions of the Pūrvas, from traditional memory, were incorporated here and there, when the canon was shaped at the Valabhi Council.

It is necessary to introduce here what are known as Siddhānta according to Digambaras. Tradition tells us that Dharasena who was staying in the Candraguphā of Girinagara, knew some sections of the second Pūrva. He instructed the same to Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali who composed the Sūtras of the *Satkarmaprābhṛta* or *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. This is available today and is published in 23 Volumes (16 of *Dhavalā* and 7 of *Mahādhavalā* or *Mahābandha*). The great Commentator Vīrasena has given abundant details about the source of these texts. The six Khaṇḍas, namely, Jīvaṭṭhāṇa, Khuddābandha, Bandha-svāmitva-vicaya, Vedanā, Vargaṇā and Mahābandha cover contents of the 24 Anuyogadvāras, namely, Kṛti, Vedanā etc. of the *Karma-prakṛti-pāhuḍa*. This Pāhuḍa is the fourth among the twenty, under the 5th Prakaraṇa, called Cayanalabdhi of the Second Pūrva, *Āgrāyaṇīya* by name. The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* is looked upon by Digambaras as their ancient Āgama. It was completed on the Jyeṣṭha-śukla-pañcamī; and even, at present, this day is celebrated as Śrutapañcamī. With the aid of this material, I think, the time has come to reassess some of our theories about the Pūrvas.

25. It is interesting to know some details about the Mss. and the publication of this Siddhānta. Two complete and one incomplete Mss. of these, written on palm leaves with ink in Old Kannaḍa characters, were preserved in the Siddhānta Basadi at Moodbidri in South Kanara. They were kept in a strong room which could be opened only when all the Five Elders of the place came and operated the locks. It is doubtful whether anybody read them during the last seven or eight hundred years or so after the copies were made. Even when they were brought out and exhibited, it was only for *darśana* and religious merit and not for reading and study. This ceremony is known as Siddhānta-darśana. Some elders in the Jaina community felt anxious about the preservation of these Mss.; and arrangements were made in 1895 to prepare

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their copies on paper, to be preserved in Moodbidri only. The work of copying went for about twentyfive years and completed in 1922 or so. One copy, which too was in Kannada, secretly reached Saharanpur in U. P. from which a Nāgarī transcript was prepared. It is from this Nāgarī copy, some other transcripts were got prepared; and they reached Amraoti, Arrah, Karanja, Sholapur etc. Thanks to the generous donation of Sheth LAXMICHANDRA SHITABARAI of Vidisha and the selfless efforts of Dr. HIRALAL JAIN, the publication of this work was organised in 1938 and completed in Sixteen volumes during a period of twenty years. The text was carefully constituted and also accompanied by Hindī translation, comparative notes, Introduction, Indices etc. Subsequently, the *Mahābandha* was published by the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha in seven volumes. In course of the publication the authorites of the Siddhānta Basadi allowed the Editor to have his text collated with the Mss. Lately the original palm-leaf Mss. at Moodbidri are rendered more durable with gauge-cloth pasted on both sides of the leaves. The photographs of the palm-leaves are already taken; and they are preserved in Calcutta, Phaltan and also in Mysore (in the Oriental Institute which has got the films). It is still possible to detect minor variants in the readings of these palm-leaf Mss., in comparison with the printed texts, because the old Kannaḍa script has not been properly read by the copyists, and here and there, there have been haplographical slips, especially in those portions where mechanical and prototypical repetitions are found.

As to the contents of this Siddhānta, it deals thoroughly and systematically with the relation between Jīva and Karman and the various subtle states to which the former is subjected on account of the contacts with the latter. This subject matter is suitably covered by Nemicandra in his *Gŏmmaṭasāra*, Jīvakāṇḍa and Karmakāṇḍa. It is this *Gŏmmaṭasāra* that perhaps gave a set-back to the study of the Siddhānta in original. Allied to the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* but with its tradition rather obscured is the *Kasāyapāhuḍa* of Guṇadhara in gāthās. As its title indicates, it deals with the four Kaṣāyas and their Karmic consequences. Some names of the earlier Ācāryas who wrote commentaries on these two works are mentioned; but today the only available commentary on the Siddhhānta is the *Dhavalā* (about 72000 Ślokas) by Vīrasena

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(A.D. 816) and on the *Kasāyapāhuḍa* is the *Jayadhavalā* (20,000 + 40,000 Ślokas) by Vīrasena-Jinasena (A.D. 837). Here and there the commentary has both Prākrit and Sanskrit. It is quite likely that these voluminous commentaries have absorbed earlier commentaries in Prākrit, just in the manner of Vidyānandi's *Aṣṭasahasrī* absorbing the *Aṣṭaśatī* of Akalaṅka or Akalaṅka's *Rājavārttika* absorbing the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda.

As to the contents, they deserve to be studied in comparison with canonical texts like the *Prajñāpanā*, which is one of Upāṅgas, and other post-canonical texts dealing with the Karma doctrine. Some attempts are being made in this direction. The Prākrit dialect employed in the Sūtras, Gāthās and the commentary on these works is called Jaina Śaurasenī with a good deal of justification. The Sūtras show some forms etc. common with Ardhamāgadhī. Some of the Gāthās are common with the *Gommaṭasāra*, and they show some tendencies of Māhārāṣṭrī. The dialect of these works could remain Śaurasenī unlike the post-canonical or even canonical texts which are too much influenced by Māhārāṣṭrī, because these were preserved in the South where the spoken languages were different and belong to a period or stage comparatively more immune from the Māhārāṣṭrī tendencies. The linguistic traits deserve more careful and thorough study,

24. Two other Prākrit works which are lately brought to light are the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* of Yativṛṣabha and the *Jambūdīvapaṇṇatti* of Padmanandi. The former is more important for various reasons. Yativṛṣabha is possibly the same as the author of the Cūrni on the *Kasāyapāhuḍa*. This work seems to draw its material from texts of antiquity. Its Gāthās are quoted by Vīrasena in his Dhavalā commentary. It contains 5677 verses mostly Gāthās interspersed with verses in different Vṛttas. The *Jambūdīvapaṇṇatti* is comparatively a later work and is based on the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*.

Another Prākrit work which has lately come to light is the *Niśītha-cūrni*. Pt. D. MALAVANIA has written an exhaustive essay on it in Hindi. It is a rich mine of cultural data and sheds much light on the ascetic organisation. Likewise for details on different walks of life and its essentials the *Aṅgavijjā* is a mine of information. The contents are encyclopaedic, and hardly any

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details are ignored, in the fields of humanity as well as science. It describes many aspects of contemporary daily life giving details about town, house, household utensils, social functions etc. It is assigned to the post-Gupta period; but the work awaits further investigation by experts in different subjects.

27. We have now fairly good editions of the major Prākrit grammars. The *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, of which we had only partial studies here and there, is now published in full, edited by M. M. GHOSH, with English Translation and many useful Appendices (Calcutta 1954). Lately the Prakrit Text Society has made available a very good edition of the *Prākṛta-sarvasva* by Dr. K. C. ACHARYA (Ahmedabad 1968). The editor has presented a thorough study of this important grammar in his exhaustive Introduction. With PISCHEL'S *Comparative Grammar of the Prākrit Languages* already in English by S. JHA (2nd ed., Delhi 1965) and L. NITTI-DOLCI'S *Les grammariens prakrits* (Paris 1938), the English translation of which is already published, the students of Prākrit have enough grammatical material for their further studies either in Prākrit languages as Middle Indo-Aryan or in Prākrit literature, much of which is still to be critically studied and of the Apabhraṁśa works many of which are still to be brought to light in good editions.

28. During recent years some attempts are made in the direction of preparing a history of Prākrit literature. It can be an independent unit in the back-ground of Indian literature. It can be, in another sense, a section of Indian literature if based on language division; or the discussion about works in Prakrit can be distributed subject-wise. In the surveys of Jaina Literature (as the elaborate one which is being published by the Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama, Varanasi) also many Prākrit-Apabhraṁśa works of Jaina authors are included. The present speaker attempted a compact and concise survey of Prākrit Literature in *Shipley's Encyclopaedia*, some years back, in English. Lately, we have some surveys of Prākrit Literature (in some cases, combining the same with that of languages). BAHARI'S *Prākṛta aur usakā Sāhitya* (Rajakamala Prakāśana, Delhi) is quite limited in its contents. Prof. H. KOCHAR'S *Apabhraṁśa Sāhitya* is quite exhaustive and more than a history of Apabhraṁśa literature (Delhi 1956). Dr. J. C. JAIN'S

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Prākṛta Sāhityakā Itihāsa (Varanasi 1961) is quite comprehensive; he does not, however, include the Apabhraṁśa literature in his history. Then there is the *Prākṛta aura Apabhraṁśa Sāhitya* by Dr. R. S. TOMAR (Allahabad 1963). Then the *Apabhraṁśa Bhāṣā aura Sāhitya* by Dr. D. K. JAIN (Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi 1965). He quotes a number of Apabhraṁśa passages, but attention is not paid to compound expressions while presening them. Lastly, there is the *Prākṛta Bhāṣā aura Sāhityakā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa* by Dr. N. SHASTRI (Varanasi 1966). It is true that many Prākrit works are printed here and there; but very few of them are edited critically and studied fully. A comprehensive history of Prākrit literature presumes a good deal of monograhpic work; and for the earnest researcher in Prākrit language and literature there is still a vergin soil in this branch.

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3. Apabhraṁśa Studies and their Future

29. The term Apabhraṁśa is used, like Prākrit, with different shades of meaning in different contexts often depending on the age and region of particular reference. It is more or less a collective term covering medieval literary langnages to be distinguished from Sanskrit and Prākrit. Apabhraṁśa, Avahaṭṭa and Deśī-Vacana have often over-lapped in meaning; and this should be obvious to us from the opinions of Scholars on the nature of the language of works like the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam* which by its compilatory character is a good specimen of bardic poetry of Western and some illustrative verses of Eastern India. Keśirāja calls a chapter of his Kannaḍa Grammar, the *Śabda-maṇidarpaṇa*, Apabhraṁśa-Prakaraṇa in which he shows how certain Sanskrit words undergo phonetic changes, more or less on the lines as those in Prākrit, and are then admitted in Kannaḍa usage. The literary specimen of Apabhraṁśa or Avahaṭṭa has to be connected even remotely and in some details with the spoken idiom of some people in some region or at some time.

30. Different theories are advanced about the origin of Apabhraṁśa. At one time, when the specimens of Apabhraṁśa literature were meagre; and plenty of compositions in different Prākrits were before the Scholars, some of them took Apabhraṁśa to be the vernacular and postulated different local Apabhraṁśas for Prākrits with a view to deriving various modern Indo-Aryan languages from them. This scheme has certain advantages. But its veracity cannot be proved with the evidence of Apabhraṁśa texts which have lately come to light. It is seen above how Uddyotana treats Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa as languages with characteristic style; and he has also enumerated Deśī or Deśabhāṣās. Some of the passages clearly indicate that Apabhraṁśa came nearer the spoken idiom, in his days, than Prākrit. The rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin have recognised Apabhraṁśa as a literary language; and even, as early as 6th century A. D., Apabhraṁśa compositions were a fact in our linguistic history. The vowel changes, some termina-

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tions and the change of *s* to *h*, etc., have led some scholars to trace the origin of these changes to some foreign influence; and it is considered as highly probable that Ābhīras influenced some local Prākrit with a good bit of their language. The result was the Apabhraṁśa. The so-called Apabhraṁśa forms quietly intrude in Prākrit works of a popular nature, like the Purāṇas, say for instance, the *Paümacariya* of Vimala. It has been observed above how their presence is felt more in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, but they are conspicuously absent in the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra though both of them were contemporaries living nearly in the same region. It is the mystic poets, bards attached to royal courts, some epic poets and itinerant singers that made Apabhraṁśa poetry and style popular, to begin with, in Western India and gradually made it spread to the East, side by side with the cultivation of literary Prākrits, and even after, in some areas, the rise of the New Indo-Aryan.

Hemacandra's Apabhraṁśa illustrations do presuppose a large amount of Apabhraṁśa literature in Gujarat and Rajasthan, to which both Jaina and non-Jaina authors made their contribution; but very few works of the epic type (only two, as experts have lately opined) prior to his age, have come to light in that area, viz., *Vilāsavaikahā* of Sādhāraṇa and *Nemiṇāhacariu* of Haribhadra. It is not unlikely that the New Indo-Aryan stage had a hastened pace in Gujarat and Rajasthan where Rāsas etc. soon replaced the classical Apabhraṁśa style, in which, consequently very few works are found today; or it is to be seen whether some Apabhraṁśa Rāsas themselves have undergone change in language at every succession of copying etc.

On the other hand, epic poems in Apabhraṁśa continue to be composed in Central India and adjoining areas upto much later time, as late as the Mughal period, even after the local Modern Indo-Aryan had shaped itself suitably. In some places quite comprehensive works in Apabhraṁśa have been composed. The Apabhraṁśa works of Raidhu etc. are a good illustration. He shows vowel and consonantal changes which would not be ordinarily available in literary Prākrits (*bhāyara* < *bhāskara*; *parasappara* < *paraspara* etc.). In the field of epics and Purāṇas, the Prākrit was being superceded by Apabhraṁśa, a new phase imposed on the

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substratum of Prākrit vocabulary but often approximating to Modern Indo-Aryan in some grammatic details.

31. Just as Asoka gives in his Inscriptions a picture of Middle Indo-Aryan varying in different zones, likewise there are reasons to believe that Apabhraṁśa was cultivated with minor local variations all over the North, because its traces appear in Braja, Maithili etc. Majority of Modern Indo-Aryan languages are successors of a common Middle Indo-Aryan, more or less uniform like Sanskrit, in its literary cultivation. Even when Apabhraṁśa was being cultivated, Sanskrit and Prākrit were used for their specific literary purposes side by side; and it appears that their spheres were conventionally fixed. When a philosophical work is written in Apabhraṁśa Dohās by Māilla Dhavala, one Śubhaṃkara complained that the metre was not suitable; and ultimately, the author composed his work, or rather rendered the earlier work, into Prākrit Gāthās; and thus we have the *Dvyasvabhāva-prakāśaka Nayacakra* of Māilla Dhavala.

Prākrit grammarians and Modern scholars have given us detailed description of Apabhraṁśa. So far as details are concerned, Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya among the former and R. PISCHEL and G. V. TAGARE among the latter are sufficiently exhaustive. Though PISCHEL had before him very little Apabhraṁśa literature, at the beginning of this century, his observations on the nature of Apabhraṁśa are quite characteristic : 'Inspite of the phonetic disorder and the incredible freedom with which the poets at their sweet will, for the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number and voice with one another, Apabhraṁśa has remained extraordinarily important and interesting and it shows affinities with the Vedic language, not in a small measure.' As noted above, one may continue in the vein of PISCHEL and say that it is on the lap of Apabhraṁśa that most of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages have grown. The post-Apabhraṁśa stage is verging or getting approximated to some Modern Indo-Aryan features here and there, depending on the area; and Avahaṭṭa can be understood in this sense in Eastern India. Today eminent linguists are analysing the spoken speeches in different parts of India, and one feels that much cognate matter, immediate or distant, for their study would be found in Apabhraṁśa.

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32. Hemacandra has not mentioned any names of Apabhraṁśa dialects. Modern scholars have detected that the Apabhraṁśa described and illustrated by him has dialectal layers, apart from their being based on Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī phonological pattern. The eastern school, headed by Puruṣottama, recognises three main varieties of Apabhraṁśa : Nāgara, Vrācaḍa and Upanāgara. Mārkaṇḍeya deals with the first in details, and indicates where the second differs from the first.; and Upanāgara is an admixture of the first two. The Nāgara of Mārkaṇḍeya seems to be the standard Apabhraṁśa and closely resembles the one described by Hemacandra. In some Apabhraṁśa epics we come across some Kaḍavakas which are like mixing up Prākrit and Nāgara; and one may be tempted to take them as illustrations of Upanāgara. But, as far as I know, no author of any major or minor Apabhraṁśa work has described the dialect of his poem as Nāgara, Upanāgara or Vrācaḍa. Such an evidence is necessary to verify the classification of grammarians as well as the dialectal traits noted by them. Till it is found we are only on a speculative ground in attempting the etymology of Nāgara from Nagara (urban), Nāgara (community of that name) or Nāga clan. In addition to earlier studies by, elderly scholars like S. K. CHATTERJI, B. R. SAKSENA, DHIRENDRA, VERMA and others, linguists are showing how Prākrit–Apabhraṁśa has close ties with Modern Indo-Aryan languages like Maithilī, Bhojapurī, Oriyā etc. Some influence of Dravidian is also being traced in the Middle Indo-Aryan in as much as Dravidian might have had greater share to contribute for the change of the Aryan speech in its phonology, and some stylistic elements, for instance, loss of dual apart from lexical borrowings, the so-called Deśī words. (H. S. ANANTANARAYAN : Prākrit and Dravidian Languages, *Proceedings of the Seminar in Prākrit Studies*, Poona 1970).

Dr. A. M. GHATAGE, an eminent linguist, has shed light on the linguistic nature of Apabhraṁśa in the light of Hemacandra's description of it : the nature of its vowels and their length; consonants, single and geminate; and also its noun and verb morphology. On the whole the morphology of the language is being reduced to the minimum. The distinction between Masculine and Neuter and even the Feminine is disappearing. The declensions of noun are merging into each other, and at the most we have

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three types ending in *a*, *i* and *u*. As to the cases Nom. and Acc. have become one group and the rest another. In the verbal system, there is only one conjugation, and it is the stem that distinguishes present and future, premitive and causal. and active and passive. Apabhraṁśa syntax is much simplified; Deśī words go on increasing; and conjunctives like *ya* disappear. Here the stage of New Indo-Aryan is being gradually reached (*Proceedings of the Seminar in Prākrit Studies*, Poona 1970.)

33. During the last ten years, many stray topics connected with the Middle Indo-Aryan are discussed by Linguists. Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa are still a field in which much material is coming to light and deserves the attention of critcal scholars. In continuation of the Apabhraṁśa studies so ably presented by L. ALSDORF, K. de VREESE has contributed a series of papers the last of which appeared in 1961 in J. A. O. Society (81.13.21). According to TSUYOSHI NARA (International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 1964), Avahaṭṭa 'was the literary Prākrit form of the Deśībhāṣā prevailing among Indo-Aryan people between the 10th and 13th century A. D. [?]'. He finds that 'it was nearer to the spoken language of earlier grammarians like Puruṣottamadeva and Hemacandra and was the immediate ancestor of New Indo-Aryan literary speeches.' (*Proceeding of the Seminar in Prākrit Studies*, Poona 1970). L. A. SCHWARSCHILD who has contributed a good bit on select linguistic points of M.I.A., like the forms of the Absolutive in the M.I.A., has lately written on 'Some sporadic Changes of Vowels in MIA' and on the 'First, Second and Third in MIA', 'The MIA prefix *vo-* of etc. (JRAS, 82.4, 1962, 85.3, 1965) and 'The indeclinable *je* in the MAI' (*Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, Bombay 1963). She has also studied some features of the Imperative in MIA showing how it combines in a complex manner the subjunctive and optative (JRAS 1965, 92–98). K. A. NORMAN has contributed some papers in the JOI, Vol. X etc. on the etymological aspect of Pāli and Prākrit forms. Apart from the Prakritisms in Vedic language, EMANEAU observes that 'there were dialects that were contemporary with at least later Vedic texts and that had phonological features that we know from the later attested MIA dialects.'

34. In this connection may be noted the influence which the Prākrit (and Apabhraṁśa) had on the Sanskrit of certain writers

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from Gujarat. This Sanskrit is called Jaina Sanskrit. But, in understanding this term, one has to remember that the Jaina authors in the South, such as Samantabhadra, Pūjayapāda etc. were adepts in the Pāṇinian system, and their Sanskrit dose not show the peculiarities of the so-called Jaina Sanskrit which is seen in the compositions of a number of authors in Gujarat and round about. The cultivation of such a colloquial Sanskrit in Gujarat can be looked upon as one of the reasons why we do not get many Apabhraṁśa works in Gujarat. An author like Siddharṣi (A. D. 906) preferred Sanskrit for his *Upamitibhava-prapañcā kathā*, because men of culture have preference for it; and his Sanskrit is simple enough to be understood even by those who preferred Prākrit. When we come to later Prabandhas etc., the colloquial nature of their Sanskrit is abundantly clear. Many words, expressions, stylistic features of the Middle Indo-Aryan are just put under the Sanskrit garb. Thus some authors chose this popular Sanskrit and others composed the Rāsas in the popular language (post-Apabhraṁśa). That is how perhaps the classical Apabhraṁśa which was well represented in that area prior to Hemaçandra's time is poorly represented in subsequent centuries in Gujarat.

There is no doubt that Prākrit as well as Apabhraṁśa were cultivated in Kashmir. Sufficient attention is not bestowed on the quotations found in Abhinavagūpta's works, namely, *Paratriṁśikā* and *Mahānayaprakāśa* etc. The Kashmirian poet Bihlana tells us that, in Kashmir, even women made use of Sanskrit and Prākrit like their *janma-bhāṣā*, the same as *deśa-* or *māṭṛ-bhāṣā*.

35. It is but natural that Hindi scholars are getting more and more interested in Apabhraṁśa; and a thorough study of Apabhraṁśa is quite necessary for understanding the evolution and growth of Hindi and its dialects. I may not be in a position to list various articles etc. pertaining to Apabhraṁśa published in Hindi Journals, because their number is very large. Only a few books in Hindi, published lately, may be taken note of here.

Dr. S. P. SINHA has brought out a second edition of this *Kīrtilatā and Avahaṭṭabhāṣā* (Varanasi 1964), and his Introduction dealing with the historical back-ground and linguistic nature of Avahaṭṭa is quite informative. There is the Apabhraṁśa Vyāka-

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raṇa by Pt. SHALIGRAM UPADHYAYA (Varanasi 1964). Shri VIRENDRA SHRIVASTAVA has presented an exhaustive study about Apabhraṁśa, its grammar and its importance for understanding the history of Hindi in his *Apabhraṁśa-bhāṣā kā Adhyayana* (Delhi 1965). Shri PARAMA MITRA SHASTRI has given details about Apabhraṁśa grammar in his *Sūtraśailī aura Apabhraṁśa Vyākaraṇa* (Varanasi 1967). Dr. DEVENDRA KUMAR SHASTRI has studied the *Bhavisattakahā* as well as nearly half a dozen Apabhraṁśa narrative poems (*kathā-kāvya*) in his thesis *Bhavisayatta-kahā tathā Apabhraṁśa Kathākāvya* (Delhi 1970) with reference to their plot, composition and style. The study is exhaustive, and gives some extracts here and there. Dr. R. N. PANDEYA's thesis on Puṣpadanta is lately published *Mahākavi Puṣpadanta* (Jaipur 1968). There are some other dissertations on Svayambhū and other poets. Even this short survey indicates how a good deal is being written and even published about Apabhraṁśa in Hindi. This is all welcome. But there is a more urgent need to which I might draw the attention of serious workers in this field.

36. There are no two opinions about the vast quantity of Apabhraṁśa literature. Eminent editors like Jacobi, Alsdorf, Vaidya, Hiralal, Bhayani and others have placed before younger scholars excellent models to follow. But, as contrasted with the amount of writings in Hindi about Apabhraṁśa, the number of Apabhraṁśa works brought to light in the form of good editions is small; and it is almost insignificant, if we take into account that material still in Mss. Some of the latest Apabhraṁśa publications deserve our attention.

Dr. HIRALAL Jain has been a pioneer in this country in announcing the discovery of a number of Apabhraṁśa works from Karanja and other Bhaṇḍāras. Despite indifferent health, he has continued his studies in Apabhraṁśa; and from his meticulous workshop we have lately the following editions. The *Mayaṇaparājaya-cariü* of Harideva (Varanasi 1962), edited by him with Hindi translation, is an allegorical poem in which Jinarāja has a triumph over Moharāja. There is also a counterpart of this work in Sanskrit. Then we have his edition of the *Sugandhadaśamīkahā* (in five different languages) with nice illustrations. The story is very interesting, and the editor has demonstrated how it is current

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both in the East and West (Varanasi 1966). It is primarily due to his keen insight into the genius of Apabhraṁśa language that he could give us his excellent edition Sṛīcandra's *Kahakosu* (last quarter of the 11th century) from a single Ms. This *Kahakosu* is important among the Arādhanā Kathākośas in as much as it quotes the Gāthās from the *Ārādhanā* on which the stories are based. Its relation with and position among other Kathākośas needs further investigation. It is published by the Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad 1969. Lastly may be mentioned his edition of the *Sudaṁsaṇacariu* of Muni Nayanandi (Vaishali 1970). The author of it was a contemporary of Bhoja of Dhārā (*c.* 1020–47) and completed this work in the Mahāvihāra of a Jaina temple in Dhārā in A. D. 1043. This work has a special interest for the variety of metres employed along with their names. A Śārdūlavikṛīḍita in Apabhraṁśa is noteworthy (See Saṁdhi III, at the beginning). The edition is well equipped with all the necessary accessories for its thorough study.

The *Pāsaṇāhacariu* of Padmakīrti (*c.* 1077 A.D.) is edited by P. K. Modi, Text and Hindi Translation (Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad 1965). It has an exhaustive Introduction in Hindi which sheds very useful light on Pārśva and Mahāvīra and their doctrines like the Cāüjjāma-dhamma etc. Dr. B. P. Jain has edited the *Jambūsāmicariu* of Vīra (11th century of the Vikrama era) along with Hindi Translation and an exhaustive Introduction dealing with the historical, poetic and linguisitic aspects of the work. It is published by the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha (Delhi 1968). H. Jacobi edited in 1921 *Sanatkumāracaritam*, a portion of the *Nemināhacariu* of Haribhadra of the Vaṭagaccha, composed in 1160 A. D. at Anahillapura. Now the entire text is being edited by Profs. H. C. Bhayani and M. C. Modi (Vol. I, L. D. Series No. 25, Ahmedabad 1970). It is important and interesting for more than one reason. It is composed in Raḍḍā metre in five lines. The editors observe (endorsed by the Director also) : ' the *Nemināhacariya* is one of the two only availabale poems of epic length belonging to the Śvetāmbara Apabhraṁśa literature, the other poem being the *Vilāsavaikahā* of Sādhāraṇa in 1066 A.D. ' One expected to discover many more Apabhraṁśa works both by Jaina and non-Jaina authors from Gujarat and Rajasthan. It is from them that Hemacandra might have drawn his quotations with which the

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Apabhraṁśa section of his grammar is remarkably rich. The first chapter of the *Vilāsavaikahā* of Sādhāraṇa has been edited lately by the present speaker with an exhaustive analysis of the contents etc. (Shivaji University Journal No. 2, Kolhapur). The text is edited from two available Mss. Sādhāraṇa is indebted to the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra for his story, but he has dressed it with characteristic poetic taste and facility of expression. The *Chakkammuvadeso* of Amarakīrtī is edited by Prof. M. C. Modi (Baroda 1972).

37. Still there are some important Apabhraṁśa works lying in Mss. in Delhi, Jaipur, Karanja, Poona etc. which deserve to be edited. One of the major works is the *Riṭṭhanemicariu* of Svayambhū-Tribhuvana who flourished earlier than Puṣpadanta (A. D. 959). Svayambhū was highly read, and his *Paümacariu* is sumptuously presented in three volumes by Dr. H. C. Bhayani. As he belonged to the Yāpanīya Saṅgha his doctrinal references need special serutiny. His descriptions are rich and metrical patterns quite varied. Then there is the *Harivaṁśa* of Dhavala (10th or 11th centnry A. D.). It is rich in metres and its style also is poetic. There are some other *Harivaṁśas* by Yaśaḥkīrti and Śrutakīrti.

There are some Caritas in Apabhraṁśa giving the career of individual Tīrthakaras such as the *Candappaha-cariu* of Yaśaḥkīrti (*c.* 15th century A. D.); the *Saṃtiṇāhacariu* of Mahicandra (V. S. 1587) who lived in Delhi as a contemporary of Babar; *Vaḍḍhamāṇa-kavva* of Halla (earlier than 1545 Vikrama Saṁvat); and others.

To the 15th century belongs a voluminous Apabhraṁśa writer, namely, Raidhū, to whom we owe a number of works, small and big. He writes in Gwalior and round about. For some features of phonetic and morphological changes his language is interesting. There are many instances where declensional terminations are fast disappearing. *kiṃ dhamma-rahiya-ghara bahudhaṇeṇa, kiṃ avajasa-pūriya puṇu jaṇeṇa :* here *ghara* and *pūriya* are in the Instrumental singular. Dr. Rajaram Jain, Arrah, has already written a thesis on Raidhū and his works, and it is published by the Vaishali Institute. He is editing all the texts of Raidhū; and some of them along with Hind translation would be soon published from Sholapur,

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under the title, *Raidhū-Granthāvali*. There are many small works in Apabhraṁśa the language of which borders more on the New Indo-Aryan than on the classical Apabhraṁśa. What is necessary is that the Editors have to be more cautious and faithful to the Mss. There is seen now-a-days a tendency to change the form, because it is slightly different from the form which we generally know at present in the New Indo-Aryan. This tendency may work with the best of intention, namely, making the text intelligible to the present-day readers; but in this way very valuable linguistic material is likely to disappear.

Some of the later Apabhraṁśa authors show such phonetic and morphological changes as are quite understandable in the evolution of the Prākritic forms and words and their meanings. The present day Hindi scholars find them to be rather striking. Deśī words are a stumbling block, and they are increasing in later Apabhraṁśa texts. Naturally there is a demand for an independent Apabhraṁśa Kośa. As I have already said earlier the Prākrit Kośa if properly planned to suit the linguist and the philologist, a Prākritist and a Hindi scholar, it can serve the purpose of all. It is a huge effort, because many Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa works are still in Mss, and need critical editing. But to make our picture of the Middle Indo-Aryan clearer some scholars will have to work on a project like this with a sense of dedication.

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4. Prākrit Literature and Our Cultural Heritage

38. Sanskrit has been a standardized speech, a language of ritual and learning, and as such its influence on other languages has been continuous. The priests and pandits have cultivated it with remarkable precision and purity. As distinguished from it, there have been the Prākrits which cover many phases of popular-regional speech, even outside the sphere of Middle Indo-Aryan. Pāli, however, was isolated in its nourishment, and shaped itself primarily as the language of Buddhism outside India, while other Prākrits flourished in India with regional variations here and there. Grammarians have distinguished phases like Māhārāṣṭrī, Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa; and there are some extra-Indian Prākrits too. The Māhārāṣṭri has grown as an important literary language; the Ardha-māgadhī and Jaina Śauraseni are the names of languages of the early Jaina canon. The former has come gradually under the influence of Māhārāṣṭrī, and as a language handled by Jaina authors at a later stage, it is styled Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī. Likewise is coined by modern scholars the term Jaina-Śauraseni. When some of the Prākrits got literary status, the spoken speech was developing or evolving in its own way and was soon literarised as Apabhraṁśa, prior to the evolution of new Indo-Aryan languages in the North. We have rich literature in Apabhraṁśa, and it was handled as a literary language even after the emergence of compositions in new Indo-Aryan in some areas. 'In reality, or at least so far as the linguist can tell, it is almost as if a uniform Middle Indian, the successor of a Sanskrit itself almost uniform, was the basis of the majority of modern Indo-Aryan languages.' This significant remark of J. Bloch induces us to assess the value of Prākrits, which occupy a lion share in the Middle Indo-Aryan, in our cultural heritage.

39. It is necessary to review here, in short, the contribution of Prākrit literature to Indian culture. This material is sure to serve as a supplement to what we know from the Sanskrit and Pāli literatures.

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While culling cultural data from the Ardhamāgadhī canon, one thing is to be remembered that all the texts do not belong to the same age. Individual texts contain disperate matter of different ages and authorship. In fine it is not one unit. The Gaṇipiṭaka or the Ardhamāgadhī canon bears close resemblance with the Tripiṭaka or the Pāli canon and hardly any item of contemporary knowledge is out of place there. In some of the texts, crude these details might appear, we get bits of information about biology, different diseases, medicines, physics, astronomy, etc.

There are many contexts in the earlier layers of the Ardhamāgadhī canon which run, in their ideas, parallel with the Upaniṣads and the Pāli canon. It is the inquiry about the Ātman, its connection with Karman and its transmigration through various births that are predominant in the canon. The Karma doctrine throws all responsibility on the indivdual who, therefore, is expected to be morally sound. The moral qualities involve his relation with other beings: lives of other beings and their persons and possessions are as respectable, if not valuable, as those of oneself. It is out of the law of rceiprocity are evolved great principles like Ahiṁsā and Saṁyama (this truly covers four other vows, namely, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha); and for the destruction of Karmic association, besides moral restraint, the practice of penance is essential.

It is the practice of Ahiṁsā, or *daṇḍa-viramaṇa*, which has led to a detailed study of living beings, their assignment to different grades of existence (from Nigoda to Liberation), and their classification according to sense organs, one to six. The function of sense organs is also indicated in acquiring knowledge. This classification, put forth to meet the demands of practical life, has behind it close observation and stands the test of even modern science. A thorough understanding of the living beings, fully developed to the undeveloped (*pajjattāpajjattā*) is a *sine qua non* of Ahiṁsā, which when positively understood, stands for Dayā, Maitrī, Karuṇā, Anukampā, etc. This is the meaning of the saying *paḍhamaṃ ṇāṇaṃ tao dayā.*

40. As distinguished from Jīva, there is the other category Ajīva: both together are the five existential facts (*astikāya*) which cons-

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titute the Universe. They are eternal; their substance persists, even when their aspects are undergoing change. There is nothing like any "creation" by any "divinity". Jīva alone is animate; and excepting Pudgala, matter, all others are immaterial (*arūpa*). They all exist in space (*ākāśa*) and their activities are aided by two others, namely, Dharma and Adharma, the fulcrums of motion and stop. Souls and matter are of infinite variety, and they alone are active; while space, motion and stop are singular and one-wholes. It is the subtle variety of matter (Karman) that is in association with the soul which is consequently subjected to trans-migration.

The matter also is studied carefully and the motion of atoms (*aṇu*) and their interlinking to make gross bodies are highly interesting. The entire universe is pervaded by subtle matter to the influence of which the souls are subjected on account of their emotional states and activities. Details of Karma are worked out with reference to their consequences, etc. The Karmic contact develops into temperamental hues known as Leśyā which is of six grades indicated by six colours — black, blue, pigeon, yellow, pink and white. The first is most morbid in attitudes like a person pulling out a mango tree when he wants just one fruit of it; while the last indicates one who will wait for a ripe mango fruit to drop down to enable him to pick it up. The aim of religion is to free this soul from Karman and make it reach *summum bonum* where it develops its inherent qualities of infinite knowledge, insight, strength and happiness.

In understanding Jīva and Ajīva, especially Pudgala, many epistemological and ontological concepts are developed which, in due course, have been elaborated by eminent authors like Kundakunda, Umāsvāti, Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Jinabhadra, Akalaṅka, Haribhadra, etc. Though the basic texts were in Prākrit, exhaustive commentaries and expositions came to be composed in Sanskrit.

Jīva is endowed with Upayoga, intellectual function, both for cognition and comprehensive knowledge. Knowledge is either through sense-organs or directly by the soul. It is under the second category comes omniscience, which is perfect knowledge

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without limitations of space and time. These ideas grow in later literature in their details to meet the contemporary challenges of other philosophers and religious schools.

In ontological speculation, the (*dravya*) substance is endowed with *guṇa* and *paryāya* and is subjected to origination, permanence and destruction. This complex character of the substance has led to an analytical approach for its understanding, or understanding it from some point or view or the other. This is Nayavāda. This topic is discussed in great details in subsequent Prākrit works like the *Sammai-sutta*, *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Bhāṣya*, etc.

41. The Ardhamāgadhī canon not only presents the philosophical concepts of Jainism, but incidentally gives much information also about Buddhist, Ājīvika and other doctrines. The method of philosophization is very interesting; and similes, illustrations and parables play an important rôle in exposition.

Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries; naturally the Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli canons have much of common inheritance in thought, environments and even in expression. The cultural data deserve to be pooled together. Some attempts are already made; and the results promise greater yield if further studies are carried on, especially in the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

Apart from the later accretions and elaborations, Jainism and Buddhism have been the representatives of the Śramaṇic Culture which laid more stress on the Karma doctrine, transmigration, asceticism and moral precepts as against rituals to propitiate some or the other God who would bestow favour on us, Naturally, good many concepts on these subjects are available in Prākrit literature; and the so-called ascetic poetry is pervading it everywhere. The moralist is predominant in the early Prākrit literature; he is out to preach to the society patterns of good behaviour; even Asokan edicts breathe a similar spirit, veritable sermons in stone; and to strengthen these principles biographies of religious heroes, similes, parables and folk-tales are intelligently interwoven in literature. Texts like the Chedasūtras, Cūrṇis *Aṅgavijjā* not only give us elaborate picture of the ascetic organisation but also throw light on contemporary society and ways of living like which we do not get in plenty in other strata of our early literature.

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As to the philosophical matter in Prākrit literature it is the *Sūyagaḍaṃ* that gives us good glimpses of the contemporary thought. Of course, the *Ācārāṅga* too contains some pithy sentences, pregnant with philosophical meaning. There are many philosophical topics in the *Bhagavatī*; but it is difficult to say how many of its sections are original and how many, and in what form, came to be gradually added to the basic corpus in due course. The Nijjuttis give us a good deal of argumentative matter which is usually the precursor of philosophical speculation.

42. The Jaina Sangha shows three sectors, namely, Yāpanīya, Digambara and Śvetapaṭa in the Kadamba copper plates; but subsequently, it is the Yāpanīyas and Digambaras that show greater literary output in the south. They were obviously isolated from the inheritance of the bulk of the canon as shaped at the Pāṭaliputra council; and what they have preserved, as inherited in memory, is comparatively little; and it is to be traced in the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and *Kasāyapāhuḍa* Sūtras, Kundakunda's works, especially the three main ones and some Pāhuḍas and the works like the *Ārādhanā* (of Śivārya), *Mūlācāra* (of Vaṭṭakera), *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (of Yativṛṣabha) and the lost *Lokavibhāga* (in Prākrit). The details of Jaina dogmatics including Syādvāda and Nayas, etc., are there; but the Nyāya argumentation, as we understand it later, is not fully developed. It emerges gradually along with the adoption of Sanskrit as the medium of learned discussion. In the South, the grip of the Ardhamāgadhī Āgama, as shaped at Pāṭaliputra, was less; and in many contexts almost nil, with the result that Sanskrit was adopted in the South much earlier than in the North and West; and a good deal of independent thinking and argumentation were possible in the South. It is true, for strictly monastic and dogmatic purposes, Prākrit continued pretty late; but, side by side, it gave place to Sankrit in argumentative treatises and secular branches of learning in which models were available outside the Jaina Sangha. We have to remember that different Gaṇas, etc., showed minor differences among themselves in doctrinal details and outward symbols. The earliest author to adopt Sanskrit was Umāsvāti, and his Kusumapura, I think, is to be identified with Tirup-pādari-puliyūr (mod. Cuddlore), once a great Jaina Centre which suffered at the hands of rival sectarians. Pādari, in Tamil, is flower; and its Sanskrit rendering Pāṭala or

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Pāṭalaka is the place where Sarvanandi wrote his Prākrit *Lokavibhāga*. It is highly probable that Umāsvāti belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha, the teachers of which often styled themselves as Śrutakevali as seen from what Śākaṭāyana, the Sanskrit grammarian, has stated about himself. The title *vācaka* = *vāsaga* is not unknown in the Tamiḷ area. This Sangha accepted some works of the Ardhamāgadhī canon as authoritative; but the monks of this Sangha possibly went out naked and were not outwardly distinguished from Digambara ascetics amongst whom they got themselves merged in due course. The zeal for Sanskrit was the product of the spirit of the age. We have Samantabhadra who shows great mastery over Sanskrit and his works have been the basis for the works of Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda. Siddhasena Divākara (who is described by Haribhadra as Śrutakevali) belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha. His *Sammai* is in Prākrit, but his Stutis are in Sanskrit. Whether this very Siddhasena wrote the *Nyāyāvatāra* is an open question for me, because there have been many authors, bearing the name Siddhasena; and the Prabandhas about Siddhasena mention the *Nyāyāvatāra* but make no mention of the *Sammai*. There is a traditional story that Siddhasena Divākara hailed from Karṇāṭaka; and this is highly probable, because the Yāpanīya Saṇgha had its home mainly in Karṇāṭaka. He has much in common, on the one hand, with Kundakunda and Samantabhadra; and, on the other, he owes allegiance to some of the texts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon. Siddhasena Divākara is known to Pūjyapāda who was well-versed in the Pāṇinīyan system as expounded by Patañjali and who gave the first Sanskrit grammar to the Jainas in the South. After Pūjyapāda, Sanskrit became more popular in the South and we have a series of Jaina authors like Ravikīrti (who emulated Bhāravi and Kālidāsa), Jaṭila, Jinasena, etc.

In Western India, the canon had a greater hold and Haribhadra was the first great author to use Sanskrit and pave the way of further interpretation. Some of the important works of Akalaṅka in Sanskrit have been lately discovered in Western India. Śākaṭāyana was a Yāpanīya; his Sanskrit grammar is more popular in the South but the manuscripts of his *Strīmukti* and *Kevalibhukti-Prakaraṇa* are found only in Western India. Though Prākrit lingered as the language of scriptures in the South, no systematic attempt seems to have been made by the Jainas in the South for

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its further cultivation; rather they adopted Sanskrit for even religious purposes. It is true that Trivikrama wrote his Prākrit grammar in the South, but he plainly tells us that he is following only Hemacandra. He mentions Vīrasena and Jinasena (obviously he has in view their *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā*). It is still to be investigated whether he has taken any illustration from these commentaries. He seems to have taken some illustrations from the *Dravyasaṃgraha* (of Nemicandra). In short, the philosophical speculations of the Jainas in the South have been mainly in Sanskrit, though we have the works of Kundakunda, the *Sammai* of Siddhasena and *Gŏmmaṭasāra* of Nemicandra, etc., are in Prākrit.

43. Prākrit literature is rich in Kathās; and the Jaina teacher is quite adept in telling stories and using them effectively in his preachings. Entertainment aspect was not ignored but instruction was the predominant objective; and intelligent authors like Haribhadra, Uddyotana, etc., achieved didactic instruction through entertainment. Usually Arthakathā and Kamakathā were subordinated to Dharmakathā, but adepts could have a good balance of them in what they call Saṃkīrṇa-kathā, as in the case of the *Kuvalayamālā* Uddyotana. The classification Ākṣepiṇī, Vikṣepiṇī, Nirvega-jananī and Saṁvega-jananī clearly indicates the psychological technique of these authors to entrap the mind of the hearer or reader and bring him to the path of good behaviour. The tendency in general was to eschew Strī-kathā, Rāja-kathā, Cora-kathā, etc. The contexts of the Kāmakathā are not rare: perhaps we have them in plenty in the *Gāhākoso* of Hāla who has heavily influnced the entire Indian literature, then what to say of his influence on Prākrit literature. Uddyotana is apologetic for his amorous contexts, and pleads that they too lead to Vairāgya in due course. The aim has been to build a balanced individual who is not an easy victim of Krodha, Māna, Māyā, Lobha and Moha. Even to illustrate the consequences of these passions and the fruits of their counterbalancing virtues, many mechanical stories are built and catchingly narrated.

The Prākrit commentaries have plenty of fables, parables and illustrations some of which are common property of many subsequent works in which they get repeated. The Jaina monk was closer to the common man by the language he used, by the contacts of the society he had and by the themes he handled.

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In addition to the stories embedded in commentaries, independent works like the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, *Taraṅgavaī*, *Samaraiccakahā*, *Kuvalayamālā*, *Ākhyānamaṇikośa* etc. are Kathākośas. Some of the texts like the *Nāṇapaṃcamīkahā* have a religious purpose, but the social and cultural data and the folklore found in them are of special interest. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* has a pattern almost parallel to the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, no more available. Merchant princes like Cārudatta, daring traders like Sāgaradatta, Dhūrtas like Mūladeva, love-heroes like Agaḍa-datta (a Prākrit form of *akṛta* = *daiva* or *deva* as against *kṛta* = *karman*), carpenter like Kokkāsa are engrossing characters. What starts in the canonical texts like the *Sūyagaḍaṃ*, *Nāyādhammakahāo* etc. becomes finer and refined in details in later literature. Illustrations like the Leśyā-vṛkṣa and Madhubindu-dṛṣṭānta are worked out in a captivating manner. Even the worst sinners are brought to the path of religion, and thus a religion of Hope is promulagated.

The tales narrated have a social relevance and throw much light on the customs etc. in the society: it may be a Kaumudī-mahotsava, a Pāna-goṣṭhī, an attack of the Bhillas, a gathering of foreign traders, a market place, wedding and its rituals, the preparation for a journey, a discussion of Aśvavidyā or Dhātuvāda or interpretation of dreams or the voice of birds. Epic tales have been interlinked with lives of Tīrthakaras and other religious heroes; and what were just characters in tales were made, in due course, men and women in flesh and blood. The story literature that has grown in Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa is of great magnitude.

There is an interesting tale. A bad character gave shelter to monks during the rainly season on one condition that they are not to preach him any religious rules, because he was such a bad character that he would not be able to observe any of the vows etc. prescribed to him. The chief monk agreed, but also realised that behind this alleged bad character there was an honest soul. After the rainy season was over, the chief monk blessed his host and assured him that they did not preach anything to him, as stipulated, during their stay; but now that they are going, there should be no objection to have some vows prescribed to him. He had to agree much against his will. They preached to him that he should not have illicit connection with the chief queen, that he should not

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eat a fruit the name of which was not known to him, and that he should not consume crow's flesh. He thought that their would not arise any occasions of violating these vows, so he accepted them with all sincerity. Once he entered the palace to steal the ornaments of the queen; she fell in love with him; but he told her that he was interested only in the ornaments and not in her on whom he looked as his sister. She threatened him that she would kick a row that her chastity was molested, in case he did not yield to her wish. He was firm. All this was being observed by the king from behind the curtain. As she raised an alarm, the robber was arrested and taken before the king. He confessed that he had stolen the ornaments, but refused to disclose the whole truth lest it might not be in the interest of the palace. The king was pleased with his high character and let him free. The robber realised the value of such vows. There were other occasions for eating a fruit the name of which was not known. He was firm. Likewise he refused to take the flesh of a crow even when there was a danger to his life. Thus by his integrity in observing the vows he saved not only his honour but also his life. Some of the tales in Prākrit literature are based on day-to-day experience, and hence they have a special effect in moral preachings and religious sermons. They do not stand isolated but have close contacts in different languages of the South and North of our country which have been handled by Jaina authors and Teachers wherever they went. Further they have their counterparts in Sanskrit and Prākrit on one hand and in Modern Indian Languages on the other, now and then, even extra-Indian alliances. Thus, for a students of folklore, they have a special value for comparative study.

44. The linguistic importance of the various works in Prākrit languages cannot be overemphasised in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. As contrasted with Prākrits in the play and Kāvyas which were rather overshadowed by closer contiguity and stylistic inheritance of Sanskrit, the language of the earliest stratum, in the Ardhamāgadhī Canon, has a special significance, because it is here that we are likely to get the glimpse of the basic Māgadhī in which Mahāvīra and Buddha preached, but which, in due course, became Ardhamāgadhī in the Jaina canon and Pāli in the Buddhist canon. If one in its later phase came under the influence of Māhārāṣṭrī on the Indian soil, the other got moulded on the pattern of

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Sanskrit outside India. It is a discerning eye that can detect older forms in the Jaina canonical texts, as has been illustrated by Professor ALSDORF's analysis of the language of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. Next to the Inscriptional Prākrits, it is the early portions of the Jaina canon that are of a special interest for the study of Middle Indo-Aryan.

The studies in Sanskrit and Pāli have advanced far ahead of those in Prākrits; and even the basic needs of the latter are not duly fulfilled. Some Jaina Institutions have published the texts of the canon etc., not so much critically constituted from ancient Mss. as to feed the sectarian sentiments even omitting passages not palatable to one's sectarian aptitudes. Critical studies can thrive better in University centres than in sectarian Institutions.

The New Indo-Aryan langauges are engrossing our attention now-a-days more and more; and that is quite natural. Some of them have now got the status of State languages. They may grow hereafter to fulfil different functions in various walks of life. So far as the history of their evolution and growth is concerned, it cannot be worked out without reference to Prākrits, especially the Apabhraṁśa which, in some respect or the other, can be looked upon as the nearest predecessor in the field. A historical grammar of any New Indo-Aryan language clearly shows what part the Prākrits have played in its growth. Apabhraṁśa was cultivated even after the New Indo-Aryan was employed for literature. The beginnings of New Indo-Aryan speeches are interesting, but it is a much involved problem to mark them out easily here and there. The assimilation of the conjuct groups or their simplification by anaptyxis have left their stamp on the vocabulary of New Indo-Aryan. An assimilated group is simplified by lengthening the previous vowel, but retaining a single consonant which is not subject to change as in Prākrits (*vyāghra* > *vaggha* > *vāgha*). With the passage of time, the New Indo-Aryan started adopting, side by side, some Sanskrit words or wrongly Sanskritised words and other words which come from non-Sanskritic stock. The case terminations in Apabhraṁśa got minimised in number, and there are particles and conjunctions which are new here. Very interesting

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vowel changes at the end of a word are developing : *svastika* = *satthiya* or *sotthiya* in Prākrit, *satthiaü* in Apabhraṁśa, but *sāthiyā* in Hindi and Gujarati. Single consonants which are relics of the conjucts continue in the New Indo-Aryan though by themselves they would not have been retained in Prākrits. Apabhraṁśa tolerates a short vowel at the end of a word, but this very vowel has become colourless in New Indo-Aryan pronunciation. The declension system of New Indo-Aryan inherited the decayed one of Apabhraṁśa, where, as noted above, case distinctions had disappeared. Naturally the New Indo-Aryan developed certain postpositions like *-ke* etc.; and in verbal formations it is not the old roots but the participles that get more prominence. In fine, one cannot work out the history of these changes without the help of illustrations from Apabhraṁśa etc. Today the linguist is compiling descriptive grammars of different dialects in a fixed format. He is also studying the languages of tribal people and compiling their grammars. Thus an all-sided study of Modern Indian languages is afoot; and, so far as the Indo-Aryan family is concerned, the Prakrit-and-Apabhraṁśa literature is sure to supply rich material. Its study, therefore, is of prime importance. It is also to be remembered that the Prākrits have contributed not a little in the growth and enrichment of the vocabulary of Dravidian literary languages.

Studies in Prākrit languages and literature have to go hand in hand with those in Sanskrit and Pāli, though the problems are different, at present, in these fields. Many Prākrit works are not thoroughly studied, and many Apabhraṁśa texts are still in Mss. Some of us will have to take pains to edit them, so that the task of a historian of literature, a student of cultural history and a linguist will be easier.

45. The Prākrit literature, like many other branches of Indian literature, has a religious back-ground and deep moral appeal. A permanent Ātman enduring all the while gives a dignity to the individual and makes him morally responsible for all that he thinks, speaks and acts. Scientific progress and technologial advance are throwing a serious challenge to our traditional values. But a little deeper thought will show that these values have their relevance, even in these days. Man's triumph over nature might

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have helped him to lead a more comfortable and leisurely life, but that is no guarantee that a man has improved himself, has risen above his baser instincts, and has become more worthy as a man. Our traditional values want a man to be a balanced individual by subduing his passions like anger, greed, vanity etc. It is only by self-restraint, tolerance of the views of others and social accommodativeness that human imbalances can be eliminated. Science has no conflict with religion, when correctly understood: in fact, they go hand in hand. Both of them pursue the discovery of truth in the physical and spiritual realms. As yet science has not discovered any injection to make a man morally more worthy as a citizen. The machine is easily fulfilling his wants and giving him more and more comforts, but at the same time it is undermining his personality. Technological progress has made man more powerful and more and more power-hungry; but is does not teach him how to behave like a man unto man. The man who discovered fire first could use it for cooking and also for buring the huts of those whom he looked upon as his enemies: well today, the power-hungry man likewise drops a bomb and destroys a patch of innocent humanity instead of using the atomic energy for the benefit of mankind. We might ask ourselves whether there is much difference between the primitive man and the modern man with his progress of civilization. He does not seem to have improved himself: he has the same imbalance. Our traditional values aim at improving man, and we have to be particular about them. Man must improve himself rather than go on multiplying his wants. Science and technology are welcome; but they should serve man, add to his dignity and accommodate his spiritual aspirations irrespective of the environments under which he is placed.

It is a happy auguray that we have had Seminars in Prākrit, under the patronage of U.G.C., in the Shivaji University, University of Poona and Magadha University. I understand that the University of Bombay is soon holding one. This is a sign of encouragement, and shows that more and more interest is being taken in Prākrit studies in University circles. Much of this study is a vergin soil, and it is here that we get new material. It is better that one works on some new material rather than repeating the same topic with subtle ingenuity and hypercritical speculation. Professor L. ALSDORF looking from a distance, observes and hopes

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that Prākrit studies are happily on the upgrade in India after a long time of neglect. It is for us in India to fulfil this hope and further enrich our literary heritage by working more and more on this neglected branch of our ancient literature.

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